

Message Text

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62

ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 OMB-01 SAB-01

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O P 081309Z MAR 75

FM USINT BAGHDAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1733

INFO AMEMBASS ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BAGHDAD 0248

CAIRO FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IZ, IR

SUBJECT: IRAQI-IRANIAN AGREEMENT

REF: BAGHDAD 103, 131, 156

1. SUMMARY. RCC VICE CHAIRMAN SADDAM HUSSEIN MADE MAJOR CONCESSIONS

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TO OBTAIN ACCORD WITH SHAH. IF CARRIED OUT, ACCORD COULD BE

HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN IRAQI-IRANIAN RELATIONS AND AUGUR WELL FOR REGIONAL STABILITY. HOWEVER, PAST ACTIONS AND ATTITUDES ON BOTH SIDES DEMAND THAT IT BE VIEWED WITH SKEPTICISM. SADDAM HAS, BY EMBRACING SHAH, MADE MAJOR GAMBLE AT TIME WHEN EXTREMIST ELEMENTS OF BAATH ARE INCREASINGLY VOCAL IN OPPOSITION TO SADDAM'S ME POLICY AND ANY IRAQI ACQUIESCENCE IN ME SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. ALGIERS ACCORD OF MARCH 6 BETWEEN SHAH AND SADDAM HUSSEIN WAS GIVEN BANNER TREATMENT IN IRAQI MEDIA, INCLUDING TV SCENES OF TWO PRINCIPALS EMBRACING. MAJOR ELEMENTS OF ACCORD AS PUBLISHED HERE ARE AS FOLLOWS (ASSUME FULL TEXT IN FBIS):

3. DEMARCATION OF RIVER FRONTIER ACCORDING TO THALWEG LINE;

4. DEMARCATION OF LAND FRONTIERS ON BASIS OF 1913 CONSTANTINOPLE PROTOCOL AND MINUTES OF 1914 FRONTIER DEMARCATION COMMISSION;

5. STRICT AND EFFECTIVE CONTROL ALONG BORDERS TO END ALL SUBVERSIVE INFILTRATION FROM EITHER SIDE.

6. ABOVE THREE ARRANGEMENTS ARE INDIVISIBLE ELEMENTS OF COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. TWO PARTIES WILL REMAIN IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENE AS ACCORD IS IMPLEMENTED.

7. FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL MEET IN TEHRAN MARCH 15 TO ESTABLISH WORK ARRANGEMENTS FOR MIXED COMMISSION TO IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT.

8. SHAH ACCEPTED INVITATION TO VISIT IRAQ AND SADDAM TO VISIT IRAN.

9. COMMENT: SADDAM HUSSEIN GIVING UP OF IRAQI TERRITORY ON SHATT AL-ARAB WITHOUT EVEN FACE-SAVING DEVICE OF PRIOR NEGOTIATED TREATY IS MAJOR CONCESSION AND BEST ILLUSTRATION OF HIS DETERMINATION TO END IRANIAN ASSISTANCE TO KURDS EVEN AT RISK OF HIS OWN POSITION. ANOTHER IRAQI CONCESSION WAS ABSENCE OF ANY MENTION OF IRANIAN SEIZURE OF TUNBS AND ABU MUSA. DEMARCATION OF BORDER HAS NEVER BEEN A MAJOR PROBLEM, BUT ONLY SYMPTOM OF DEEPER DIFFERENCES.

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10. SHAH, ON OTHER HAND, APPEARS TO HAVE GOTTEN WHAT HE WANTED ON SHATT AL-ARAB IN RETURN FOR CONTROLLING OF BORDER TO END ALL SUBVERSIVE INFILTRATION (WHICH FOR GOI MEANS END OF ASSISTANCE TO KURDISH INSURGENCY) A POLICY TO WHICH HE HAS NEVER ADMITTED. GIVEN BAATH TRACK RECORD AND SHAH'S PAST BEHAVIOR AND OPINION OF BAATH REGIME, THERE IS GOOD REASON FOR DOUBTING THAT ACCORD WILL BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED. FOR EXAMPLE, DOES SHAH

SERIOUSLY INTEND TO END ALL AID TO KURDS AND PERMIT IRAQI FORCES TO DESTROY THEM, OR WAS HE PRESSURED INTO AGREEMENT BY BOUMEDIENE, SADAT, ET AL AND BY DESIRE FOR OPEC SOLIDARITY. TIME WILL TELL.

11. IN IRAQI CONTEXT, SADDAM HUSSEIN HAS SHOWN REAL POLITICAL COURAGE. EVEN BEFORE SIGNING OF ACCORD THERE WAS EVIDENCE OF GROWING DISCONTENT WITHIN BAATH PARTY, PARTICULARLY NATIONAL (PAN-ARAB) LEADERSHIP, OVER SADDAM'S GRADUAL MODERATION OF IRAQ'S POLICY TOWARD PALESTINIANS, HIS RAPPROCHMENT WITH WEST AND CONSERVATIVE ARABS, AND CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARD ME SETTLEMENT (NOTABLY IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH FRENCH PM CHIRAC). ALL-OUT ATTACK OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AGAINST SYRIA AND NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS MOST STRIKING EXAMPLE (BAGHDAD 228). HOW SADDAM DEALS WITH THIS GLARING CONTRADICTION IN IRAQI/BAATH POLICY UPON HIS RETURN SHOULD PROVIDE US WITH GOOD INDICATION OF HOW SERIOUS INTERNAL PARTY DIFFERENCES ARE.

12. RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW WE MIGHT ENCOURAGE CONSOLIDATION OF THIS FIRST STEP IN IRANIAN-IRAQI RAPPROCHEMENT CONTAINED SEPTEL.
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